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*A Constitution for the United
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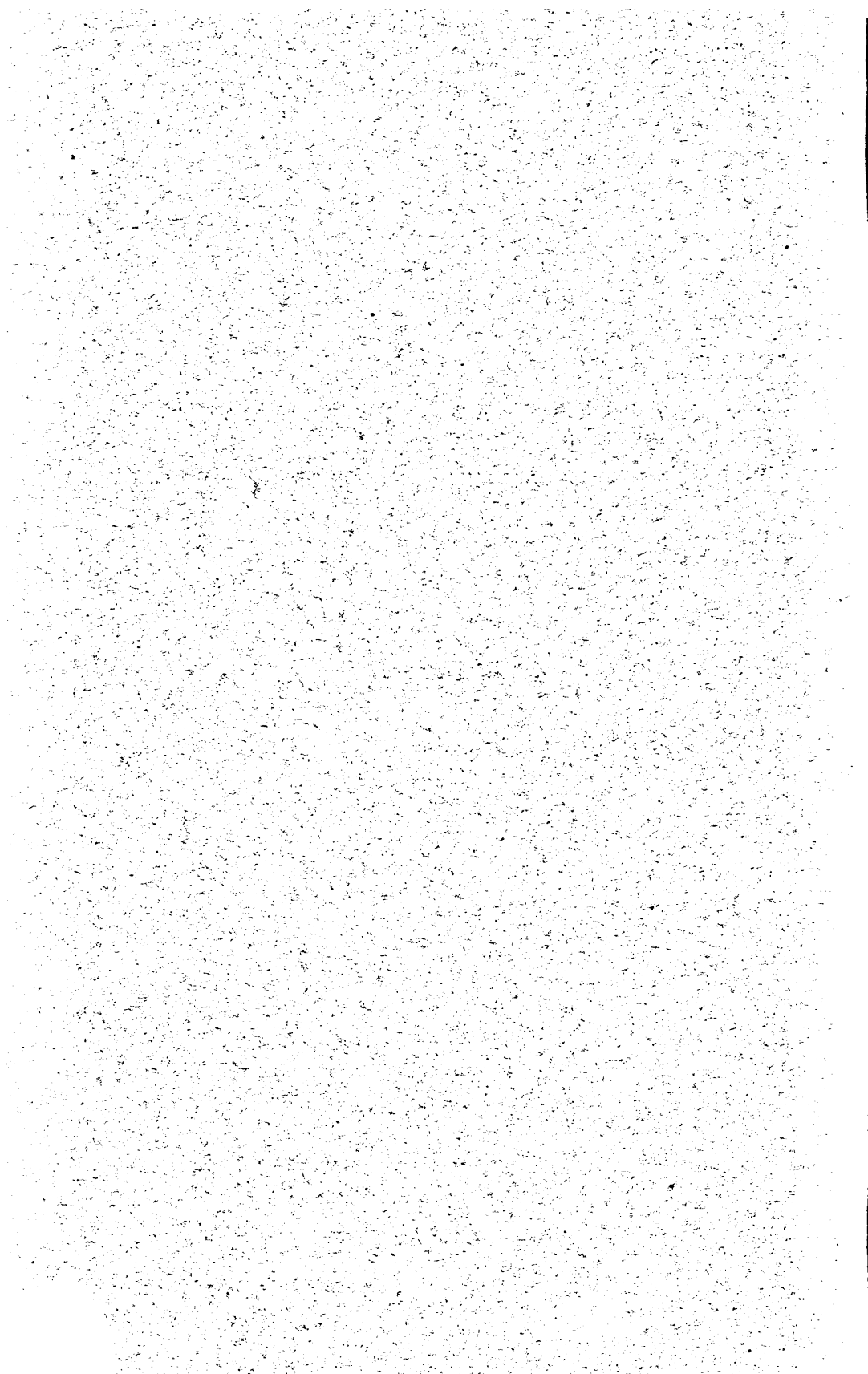
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A Constitution for the United States of the World

By

Oscar T. Crosby

Author of "Tibet and Turkestan"



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A Constitution for the United States of the World

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WARRENTON, VA.

DECEMBER 20, 1909

AUG 24 1931

C. V. Grody.

The Constitution of the United States of the World

Is it visionary? Yes.

All progress is made of visions which, slowly or suddenly, shape themselves, crystallize into realities.

If the change be sudden we usually find that the magic wand which waved the shadows into substance was a sword. 'T is a pen that works the slower transformation.

For years the federation of American colonies was a vision, seen only by "impractical" men.

Unified Italy floated, iridescent in the clouds of thought, long before the material sun shone on Victor Emmanuel's crown.

The splendid fabric of the German Empire was woven in the dreams of millions of men ere a man of blood and iron declared that the great day of realization had come.

Yes, it is visionary, now—this Constitution of the United States of the World.

Once in all the western "world" of that day, when the spoken word in Rome was obeyed on the wild Danube and in Africa's deserts, men breathed a universal peace, and were happy in it. But savagery dwelt on the borders, and tyranny ruled within. Destruction came; darkness and disorder fell upon Europe; yet the dream, which had been a reality, never vanished utterly from men's minds.

When France became a light unto European civilization, even the practical Henry of Navarre saw a vision of unity which vanished only as the assassin struck his life away.

Napoleon's great mind revived the mighty plan.

Almost did his sword hew the plan into fixed form. To-day, it is Democracy's dream.

The vision is wider too. Europe is no longer "the world." Now we know that the Chinese Emperor, Eastern Asia's "Elder Brother," has been for ages and to millions of men as a sign of the dream come true.

To-day Europe, Asia, Africa, America, discover a brotherhood that is bounded only by the unpeopled seas.

From all lands an harmonious note is sounded. Only an undertone as yet, it is often drowned by the harsh cry of War, or it is stifled by the incoherent utterance of Prejudice and Ignorance. Yet the undertone persists. A little louder, a little sweeter, a little more dominant, it swells and gives character to the great tumultuous song of human life. Years must be added unto years, hopes unto hopes, labors unto labors, tears unto tears, ere the dream come true.

And this writing is one of those hopes, one of those labors. As a grain of sand it is cast upon the mound which, in some far day, shall become the mountain whence men may see at their very feet the Promised Land of Union.

Of all universal Peace Societies the Government of the United States should be the most effective.

The power which it may wield is probably the greatest that has ever been known as an active unit in human society. Another may soon surpass it, for awakened China may become the "Elder Brother" of the world. To-day, however, leadership lies in European civilization.

And in that civilization, none more powerful, none so untrammelled as the American Union.

No taunt of cowardice, no jibe of covetousness need be feared should that unmenaced, powerful, and prosperous people declare unto the vexed nations of the earth that it is ready to make those sacrifices of separate action which must ever be made by individuals or by societies that would attain the blessings of Union.

Born out of the womb of Compromise, its strength of many-in-one may be offered as an example to all.

Each American State now rejoices in the surrender of rights which it made when the Union was formed; so our Govern-

ment may now with dignity, with hope, and in the fulness of its strength, declare itself ready for such surrender as a greater Union—the World's Dream—may require for its realization.

If the United States can lead other nations into paths of peace it will indeed share in the absolute gain of all. Yet when compared with the sacrifice of selfish opportunity which the American Union must make, its gain will be less than that of any of its sister States in the world-confederation.

The burden of war preparation now lying so heavily upon other nations is thought by some to yield an advantage to our great Republic, relatively free from such burden. ¶ If then these rival States are to be relieved of a present handicap, this supposed advantage to the United States will be lost. Whether or not this opinion be a true one; whether or not we should believe that the difficulties of our neighbors become favoring circumstances for ourselves, it yet remains true, that nearly every nation on the globe, if freed from its military establishment, would feel a greater direct and immediate relief than the United States could experience from the same cause.

Confident, then, that no suspicion of special advantage would be entertained by any weighty critic, the United States may declare to the world its readiness to confederate with others for the establishment of a central authority which, while deriving all its power from the separate States, shall yet rise above all, and secure all in the peaceful enjoyment of such fruit as their industry and their intelligence may produce.

Waiting for no invitation from others whose actions are more embarrassed, the United States may propose to the world a definite plan of Union, and declare that such a union it is ready to enter.

It may not be supposed that a constitution presented by one government would so nearly solve the problem of international Union as to find ready adoption by others.

Yet the cause will have been much advanced when any one Power shall have declared to all others: "Here is a particular constitution to which we will subscribe. We expect it to be modified ere it shall be finally accepted. Let us then turn resolutely to the task of criticism, article by article, word by

word. We shall thus measure the concessions which each must make, the advantages which each may retain."

¶¶ The discussion of one provision after the other throughout world will in itself begin to make such mental and moral the re-adjustments as may be required for the reconciliation of a New Order to old prejudices.

Alas! How often are great enthusiasms cooled and destroyed by consideration of paltry practicalities which *must* be regulated in some *specific* way!

How various and almost destructive were the bitter criticisms directed against particular provisions of the American Constitution even by citizens of States already accustomed to confederated life, still fresh in the enthusiasm of a successful war waged against a common foe, and all, in fact, determined to live together as a nation!

How hard did it seem to yield this *particular* right!

How dangerous seemed this *particular* power!

How unfair this *particular* measure of representation!

How useless this *particular* provision!

How impractical this *particular* method!

Romantic love may fly from the household wherein Compromise fails to determine the exact breakfast hour or the exact color of wall-paper.

So the very real yearning for peace, the very real sense of brotherhood which now imbues the world's best thought, may, for a time, give place to a sense of irritation when the older patriotism comes face to face with the fact that a stranger must have some part of the rule in the house of our fathers. The older national *amour propre* may be sorely wounded when in some *definite, practical* system of representation our own greatness seems levelled down to the littleness of an unloved neighbor.

Viewing these known susceptibilities, these known checks and set-backs to enthusiasm, 't were far better that some particular constitution should be officially proposed for criticism by one nation than that an enthusiastic congress of delegates, swept together by the sudden whirl of public sentiment, should meet for constitution-making, only to find that hot jealousies, smoldering fires of nationalism, should flame out and burn up the assembled love and fraternity.

Let diplomats brood over the proposed articles of union. Let them weigh a feather against a cobweb, split a hair into tenths, quarrel with commas, put capitals to the sword, give a crutch to every halting word. While this goes on, the great world will think, and grow brotherly in thinking about the same thing.

Let the press—true voice of national vanity—spend itself in loud attack, coy retreat, fair compromise or frank acceptance. While each people is thus nursing the wound to its own vanity, it hears groans in the neighboring ward—and the two invalids are quickly convalescent.

Let the senate chambers ring with argument, with denunciation, with prophecy. Each shall hear the echoes from the other, and in the end only one effective word will rise above the hubbub—the fair word, “compromise.”

So at last, when Senator, Diplomat, Journalist, and Man-in-the-street have all thundered and whispered and written and chatted—there will be the proposed articles of union—changed, somewhat, yet now become familiars.

That which at first seemed to be a lance directed against the breast of our nation, is now become a shield for its defence.

The whole constitution has come to be the creation *of* the people of the world *for* the people of the world.

They have built for themselves a new meeting-place, wherein each enters knowing that he is in his own house, and in that of his brother.

It is the house of the vision. Each timber was once a dream.

The fire on the hearth is that eternal flame without which all life is cold—the fire of love—and love is self found in another.

The Resolutions which are now suggested to be passed by our Congress would give to the peace movement a platform, a rallying cry, a flag, an organization.

There are members Quixotic enough, far-seeing enough, to insure the introduction of these or similar Resolutions. ¶ Sneers, praises, criticisms, would follow.

It would then remain in our great Democracy, for men and women throughout the land, as citizens, as legislators, as judges, as members of a thousand societies, to speak their convictions on the high subject of International Peace. Congress, in the

last analysis, utters the will of the people. If then the people adopt such Resolutions, they must soon become the official voice of a mighty nation offering its strength in the service of Peace.

Although our country was once desolated by four years of dreadful war, which no pact of union could forfend, we yet bless the work of our fathers.

We know that the decree of peace and co-operation among thirteen separate States—even though that decree was once violated—has borne fruit of happiness a thousand-fold more valuable than were the sacrifices required for making our Union.

So, would our children's children bless such work of peace as we to-day may do or plan, even though that work, in some great future strife, should show its human imperfections.

Let us then try to give substance to the dream. Let us ask the vision to speak, not only of its object (that is in our hearts), but of its manner of being (that must be in our brains).

Proposed Joint Resolutions of the Congress of the United States of America

Whereas, means of communication now exist which give to the people of all nations a larger understanding of their common interests than they could heretofore have had; and

Whereas, such mutual understanding and its resultant sympathy between men of all countries does in fact provide the moral basis for a citizenship of the world; and

Whereas, this universal citizenship requires an organ of expression and of action to the end that it may bear proper fruit in preventing the desolations of war and in promoting human happiness through peaceful co-operation of states;

Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

That the treaty-making authority of this government be recommended to proceed promptly to the negotiation of international agreements through which may be established a confederation of the sovereign states entering into such agreements;

And be it further resolved, in pursuit of the great objects of this Resolution, that the Congress of the United States hereby give public expression to a form of Constitution, which in substance as below set forth it recommends to the States of the world as a fitting instrument for realizing world-wide aspirations toward the amelioration of harsh conditions now suffered by multitudes, and which, in part, are due to an ever-present fear of international war.

Proposed Articles of Union, or Constitution of the United States of the World

Article I. The object of this Union is declared to be the abolition of war, and the furtherance of peaceful co-operation between the states signatory to this Constitution.

Article II. The sovereign government created by the adoption of this Constitution shall be known as The United States of the World; its powers shall be those herein defined, and none others.

Article III. Sec 1. For the exercise of all the powers herein granted, there shall be organized a body to be known as the International Court. It shall be composed of representatives of the member-states of this Union.

Sec. 2. The number of such representatives shall be determined as follows:

From each of the following states: The United States of America, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Spain, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, China, Japan, three members, plus such number as may be determined by the provisions of Section 5, this article.

Section 3. From each of the following states and groups of states: Mexico, Brazil, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the Argentine Republic, Chili, Persia, Portugal; the groups of states, as follows: first group, Sweden and Norway; second group, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria; third group, Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, Bolivia; fourth group, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa-Rica, Salvador, Guatemala, two members, plus such members as may be determined by the provisions of Section 5, this article.

Sec. 4. From each of the following states and groups of states: Abyssinia, Switzerland, Greece, Siam, Afghanistan, Peru, group of Paraguay and Uruguay, one member plus such members as may be determined by the provisions of Section, 5 this article.

Sec. 5. From each state (except China) named in Section 2, this article, one member for every ten million inhabitants in excess of thirty millions; from each state or group of states

named in Section 3, this article, one member for every ten million inhabitants in excess of twenty millions; from each state named in Section 4, this article, one member for every ten million inhabitants in excess of ten millions; for China, one member for every fifty million inhabitants in excess of 200 millions; provided that in the enumeration of inhabitants for the purposes of this article no account shall be taken of any persons held in slavery, or of inhabitants of colonies or protectorates not self-governing.

Sec. 6. The membership based upon population shall, during the first ten years of the exercise of this Constitution, be taken as follows:

For the United States of America, six members.

For Great Britain and its dependencies, two members.

For Austria-Hungary, two members.

For the German Empire, three members.

For the Russian Empire, seven members.

For China, four members.

For Japan, two members.

For France, one member.

At the end of the said period of ten years, and thereafter every tenth year, the Court shall inquire into and fix, for the purposes of representation in this Union, the populations of the member-states.

Article IV. Sec. 1. The pay of members shall be thirty thousand dollars per annum.

Sec. 2. The manner of selection, the personal qualifications, and the term of office of members shall be such as may be determined by their respective governments.

Article V. Sec. 1. The first place of meeting of the Court, shall be at The Hague, in Holland. This meeting shall take place, and the conditions of this Constitution shall become operative, one year from the date when all of the following named states may have adopted and signed these articles of union, viz., The United States of America, Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia.

Sec. 2. During a period of five years after the first year of the exercise of this Constitution, the Court may sit in such capitals

of member-states as it may select. During the same period of five years, the Court shall endeavor to obtain sole sovereignty of an area not exceeding ten miles square, and there fix its seat of government; and if it should not succeed in obtaining such sole sovereignty, the Court shall thereafter have its sittings wherever it may determine, provided, however, the persons of members of the Court shall always be inviolable when journeying to and from, or in attendance upon, sittings of the Court.

Article VI. Sec. 1. The rules of procedure of the Court shall be such as from time to time may be fixed by it, provided, however, that a majority vote of the members shall always be required for the following purposes, viz.:

1. For adopting, or altering, rules of procedure.
2. For rendering final decision in any dispute between member-states.
3. For authorizing the use of violence by the armed forces of the Court.
4. For determining the sums required for meeting the expenses of the operations of the Court.
5. For electing a President and Vice-President (who shall be members) and for defining their powers and term of office.
6. For passing upon the credentials of members whose right to recognition as such may be in dispute.

Sec. 2. Communication between the Court and the member-states shall be carried on by their respective executives, unless other officials be specially appointed thereto by the Court or the member-states.

Sec. 3. The Court shall cause to be printed in French, with reasonable promptness, and to be furnished to the member-states, full reports of its decisions, whether judicial or executive, but its deliberations may be made public or not as the Court may decide.

Article VII. The powers of the Court shall be as follows:

Sec. 1. To decide by decree all disputes submitted to it by any state (whether a member or not) and arising between a member-state and any other state (whether a member or not). Such decision may be made upon the evidence presented by the state submitting the dispute, if, within such period as may be fixed by the Court, the other state or states concerned, having been

admonished thereto by the Court, shall have failed to present other evidence.

Sec. 2. Second, to enforce by arms the execution of its decrees, the fulfilment of demands made in accordance with this Constitution, and the exercise of all powers granted herein.

Sec. 3. To repel any attack, or to repress preparations therefor, by any state against any member-state.

Sec. 4. To aid any member-state, upon request of such state, in the suppression of rebellion.

Sec. 5. To establish, maintain, and control such civil organization and such armed force on land and sea as the Court may deem necessary. Conscription of the armed personnel shall be effected, when necessary, through demand made upon the member-states, for numbers of men fixed in the ratio of the relative populations of the states. And for this purpose the population shall be determined in the manner specified in Section 5, Article III.

Sec. 6. To determine annually the sums required for meeting the expenses of the government hereby constituted; to demand of each member-state payment of its due proportion of said sums, the apportionment among the states to be made in the ratio which the number of representatives of each state may bear to the total number of members of the Court on the first day of July of the year for which the apportionment is made.

Sec. 7. To acquire and hold such lands, buildings, docks, anchorages, and rights of way as may be necessary for the efficient maintenance of its civil and military establishment. Such acquirement may be effected through purchase, gift, or demand made upon any member-state for the exercise by it of its right of eminent domain in respect to property desired and which can not otherwise be had on conditions satisfactory to the Court.

Sec. 8. To demand of member-states that, within three months from the date when this Constitution shall become effective, they shall surrender to the control of the Court all armed vessels of war and all material appurtenant thereto; to select from such surrendered vessels and material whatever the Court may desire to retain in its naval establishment; to disarm

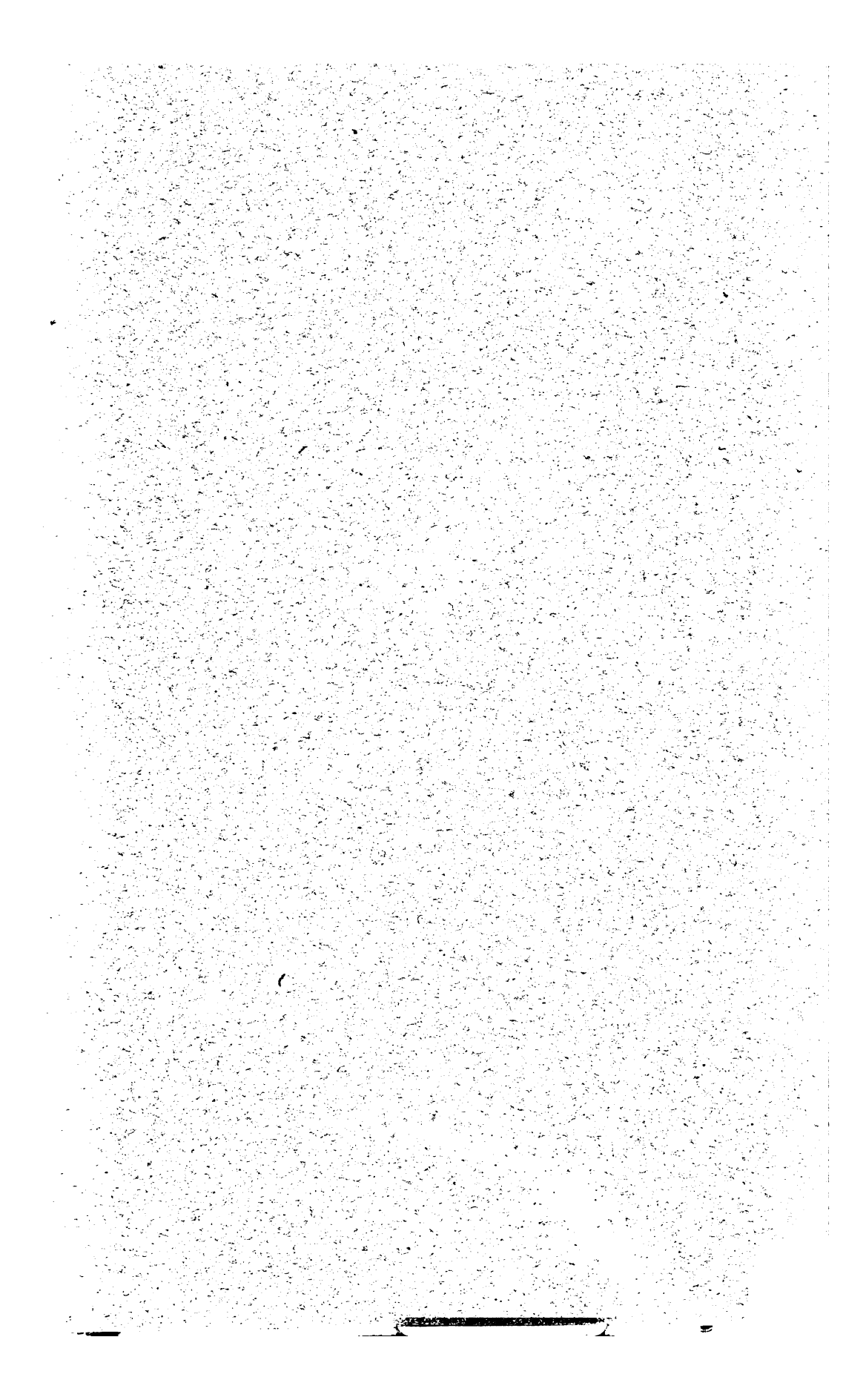
the remaining vessels, and to return them, with material not desired, within six months from the date of their surrender; to demand of member-states that they shall not build armed vessels of war; to demand that, within one year from the date when this Constitution shall become effective, the standing armies of all member-states shall be reduced to a footing of one soldier for each thousand inhabitants, determined according to the provisions of Section 5, Article III., and provided that land forces maintained solely for service in colonies not self-governing shall not be subject to the restrictions of this article; to demand of each member-state such portion of its material for land forces as the Court may require; to value all vessels and material retained by the Court under the provisions of this article, and to pay for the same within ten years from the date of its acquirement; to demand the disarmament of fortifications fronting the land frontiers between member-states; to occupy, maintain, alter or disarm sea-coast fortifications of member-states, and fortifications fronting the frontiers between member-states and other states.

Sec. 9. To make terms of peace which shall be binding upon all member-states affected, in order to conclude any war waged between the forces of the Court and those of any state, provided that no war shall be terminated by a peace-treaty objectionable to any member-state so long as such state continues to furnish to the Court men and material of war sufficient for the vigorous conduct of military operations.

Sec. 10. To propose to states for their consideration methods of promoting the common good of mankind in literature, science, art, and commerce.

Sec. 11. To recognize any sovereign state that may hereafter come into existence, and to fix the number of representatives in the Court to which such state should be entitled as a member of this Union.

Article VIII. An amendment to this constitution shall have full force and effect as a part of it when it shall have received the assent of three-fourths of the members of the Court and of two-thirds of the member-states, provided that for the purposes of this article each group of states named in Article III. shall be taken as one state.







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